Statements of Susan Rosenberg and Tim Blunk Anti-imperialist Resistance Fighters

May 20, 1985
Newark, New Jersey

Susan Rosenberg and Tim Blunk were convicted on March 17, 1985 of conspiracy to possess certain materials—explosives, weapons, and identification. On May 20th, these resistance fighters were sentenced to 58 years. Their position is that this trial was not about "criminal conspiracy to possess but rather about a revolutionary strategy to resist imperialism, its war machine, its war crimes and genocidal attacks against the righteous revolutionary and socialist nations and peoples in the worldwide anti-imperialist movement." They based their defense on the principles on which they have committed their lives—it is a right and responsibility, as North Americans, under international law, to uphold the right of self-determination of oppressed nations and stop the U.S. government's crimes against peace and humanity. According to the Nuremberg principles, which Reagan is making a mockery of by his visit to Bitburg, all citizens have an obligation to uphold international law, even if it conflicts with domestic law, or be complict with the crimes. Susan and Tim are part of the increasing numbers of people who are defying U.S. wars in Central America and the Caribbean, Azania/South Africa, and the Middle East: and who are standing with the progressive and revolutionary forces in the Black, Puerto Rican and Mexican communities as they fight for their human rights and resist racist police and vigilante attacks. In supporting these comrades, we not only defend their right to resist but defend an important force in our movement—the developing anti-imperialist armed clandestine organizations.

After years of work as organizers and leaders of public anti-imperialist organizations, Susan and Tim went underground to build the communist clandestine resistance and a campaign of armed solidarity with national liberation struggles. They set an example—that we can and we must resist the power of this system on every level: in the streets, in the courts and into the arena of armed struggle. The actions taken over the last several years by the anti-imperialist armed clandestine organizations—the Revolutionary Fighting Group, the Armed Resistance Unit, the United Freedom Front and the Red Guerrilla Resistance, as well as by the armed forces of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the New Afrikan Independnece Movement—have shown that the violence of U.S. imperialism, its destruction of human life, will be resisted and will be attacked where it is vulnerable. The recent attack on the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association in New York City by the Red Guerrilla Resistance to resist racist killer cops is a leading example of that resistance and of solidarity with the Black community's struggle for human rights and self-determination. These clandestine forces, unlike the enemy, have great respect for human life. They are part of building our movement so that it can resist, survive, and build to win.

Susan Rosenberg

We think this sentencing will be one of our last public opportunities to talk to our comrades, to our allies in the national liberation movements, and to the people.

When we were first captured we said, "we're caught, we're not defeated, long live the armed struggle." We'd like to take this moment to rededicate ourselves to our revolutionary principles, and to our commitment to continuing to fight for the defeat of US imperialism, for the liberation of the oppressed nations, the liberation of women, and the victory of socialism.

Ho Chi Minh said nothing is more precious than independence and freedom and Malcolm X said that the most fundamental human right is the right to self-determination and a nation achieves that by any means necessary.

We would like to put to rest the bourgeois propaganda of the FBI Joint Terrorist Task Force that May 19th is a coalition based in criminal activities. Nothing could be further from the truth. May 19th is the birthday of Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese nation, and the birthday of Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik Shabazz, a founder and leader of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. It is a day that the revolutionary nations and peoples all around the world celebrate.

Ho Chi Minh and Malcolm X were representatives of their nations' fighting for national liberation, and an end to imperialist and colonialist violence. We honor them and their nations in their unceasing resistance.

As Northamerican revolutionaries from the oppressor nation we have much to learn, when we look to these revolutionary leaders as our examples. The strategic and revolutionary principles and politics that they fought for we have begun to embrace and to make our own. They are:

—Imperialism is our enemy
—Human rights is the right to self-determination
—Revolutions are fought for land and political power
—People's war against imperialist war
—Proletarian Internationalism

To fight the enemy in its heart

Applying these principles has compelled us to fight the enemy in its heart, to make the struggle of the oppressed nations our own, to build solidarity with national liberation because they are just struggles, and because they are leading in defeating the imperialist system.

This year is the 10th anniversary of the Victory of the Vietnamese. The lessons from that victory have been covered over, lied about, and distorted by the US warmakers who lost the war, as well as by the reformists in the left. We are wrong, our movement is wrong, to let the reformists, and sellouts claim the anti-war movement. The real lessons of that victory and of solidarity are being lost.

The Vietnamese people in their struggle for independence inspired a whole world to resist imperialism. How did they do this? Why did they inspire us to struggle? They successfully fought a prolonged people's war. Under the leadership of a political/military communist party they waged armed resistance and armed struggle as part of the strategy

of the political mobilization of the masses. They fought for 45 years. In 1932, when the Communist Party was two years old, they had 1000 militants. In that year 900 members were jailed or killed. Comrades Ho, Giap, Dinh, Chinh, and others rebuilt. Their entire activity as a nation embodied a total commitment to liberation—to win, because no sacrifice was too great to make—their dedication, humility, and love of the people was unconquerable. They turned the craters made from US bombs into flower gardens and took the metal from landmines made and dropped by the US into bullets.

In their revolutionary war they conquered their main internal enemy—individualism—they forged a collective identity that said, "we fight yankees therefore we exist." Their heroism vanquished a cowardly enemy, **which wasn't invincible then and isn't invincible now.** They triggered the revolutionary potential of nations and people in the Third World, of the oppressed nations here in the US empire, their struggle helped give rise to anti-imperialist struggle in the imperialist centers in an era of counter-revolution and reaction.

Malcolm X said the struggle for Black liberation is a struggle for Land and Independence

The struggle for national liberation, independence and land, for political power, for self-determination is a revolutionary one. When Malcolm X said that the struggle for Black liberation in amerika was international, he was saying that the New Afrikan/Black nation was/is a colonized nation, subjugated by US imperialism, and that only land and independence, fought for by New Afrikan/Black people could end colonial domination, national oppression, white supremacy and imperialism.

Since we have been in prison the murderers of Michael Stewart have been exonerated, Stephen Sullivan, the murderer of Mrs. Bumpurs, has been exonerated. Bernhard Goetz, the racist vigilante who shot four young Black men, has been made a hero of New York. In Portland, Oregon, the police murdered a Black person with a choke hold and then sold T-shirts that said, "don't choke them, smoke them."

The naked brutality and inhumanity of this system that drops a bomb on the Black community in West Philadelphia, fires 10,000 rounds of ammunition, burns 60 homes, and kills 11 Black people is a complete and total outrage. The military assault by the Philly pigs against MOVE is an escalation of the (not so covert) undeclared war against New Afrikan/Black people. The police and the press have defended this crime, and the left has done nothing more than be indignant. The facts are that MOVE has been under police attack for the last seven years because they have fought for their own armed self-defense against the police and for the right to build their own community. They have opposed police terror with arms. The right of Black/New Afrikan people to armed self-defense and the actions of armed self-defense are what the police attacked here. The state is trying to criminalize the right to armed self-defense and to intimidate a people who have a history of rebellion and resistance for 400 years since their original kidnap and enslavement. **After the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs, what Black person doesn't need to defend their home and their life?**

When we say we make the struggle of the oppressed nations our own, it means that we fight for the demands of the colonized nations. When we say we uphold the right of self-determination, it means that we apply the principle to our resistance. The white wall

of complicity in the colonial violence and terror aimed at the New Afrikan/Black Nation can be attacked.

The development of the Northamerican armed clandestine movement—the United Freedom Front, the Armed Resistance Unit, the Red Guerrilla Resistance—has been a step forward in supporting these demands, in upholding the right of self-determination. By taking up armed actions to attack South Africa, Zionist Israel, the US military and the US government, the war profiteers, the police, we begin to **enact** proletarian internationalism. The failure of the revolutionary movement to actively fight white supremacy is part of the erosion of the principle of upholding self-determination.

The development of the Northamerican armed clandestine movement begins to **enact** proletarian internationalism.

From my own experiences in the armed clandestine movement and now in prison, I know that the most important struggles we are in are over revolutionary principle and practice versus the dominance of bourgeois ideology, individualism and opportunism. The struggle to continually deepen our commitment to revolution, to be willing to change ourselves, to become imbued with proletarian internationalism, to learn how to fight, to become guerrillas with communist theory and practice, to consolidate a revolutionary resistance, go on every day, in every decision, in every action we take. In a non-revolutionary period, it is hard to be revolutionary. The decision to build armed clandestine organization and the advancement of that, the lessons that are being learned in clandestinity, are what most deeply challenges all of us to build revolutionary resistance that will fight to overcome our real weakness that arise from our objective conditions in the oppressor nation. The building of an armed clandestine organization has meant that we can enact a strategy that doesn't rely on the weaknesses of the state but truly does look to the standards and examples of our Third World comrades and commits us to struggling for power. Supporting the armed clandestine organizations and learning from their examples is a key part of how we fight the state's constant attempts to erode our principles.

For us, having had the privilege to be part of this process gives us the strength and determination to now fight harder. It was an active choice we made in helping to advance the level of struggle. We believe that our failure to internalize these lessons better resulted in our capture.

My comrade Tim and I were busted because we vacillated on our own revolutionary principles and politics. Because we thought we were good enough revolutionaries, because we used our commitment and sacrifices to justify our internal weaknesses, we relied on our white, class privilege. We fell back on who we were/are and not what we are/want and need to be. We were challenged on Nov. 29 as we had never been before and our own individualism led us to failure. Our own internalization of our principles was not deep enough to fight to win; to be willing, in assessing the risks, to sacrifice our individual well-being for the advancement of our collective revolutionary strategy, to fight passivity in the face of authority.

For Tim and myself, we begin the long struggle alongside other captured comrades as political prisoners. We will continue to build our revolutionary resistance and our character,

we will fight our internal enemy—individualism. We will deepen our commitment and our principles. We look to the Puerto Rican nationalists and the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, the New Afrikan Prisoners of War, Comrade Nelson Mandela, as our examples. We will struggle alongside our comrades in the armed clandestine movement and in the mass struggles to forge a revolutionary anti-imperialist resistance movement.

There have been setbacks for the revolutionary struggles this past year. We need to draw the lessons from all of them in order to become better and stronger. We need to support all those who have been captured:

—The New York 8+ Against Fascist Terrorism, 8 Black revolutionaries currently on trial in New York, charged with conspiracy for their unceasing commitment and work for the liberation of the Black nation;

—the Ohio 5 + 2, 7 Northamerican anti-imperialist revolutionaries charged with conspiracy to bomb the US warmakers;

—Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, and Laura Whitehorn, 3 Northamerican anti-imperialist revolutionaries arrested for participation in clandestine resistance.

We need to support all the grand jury resisters. We say, "Free All Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners!"

We will not let the enemy divide us.

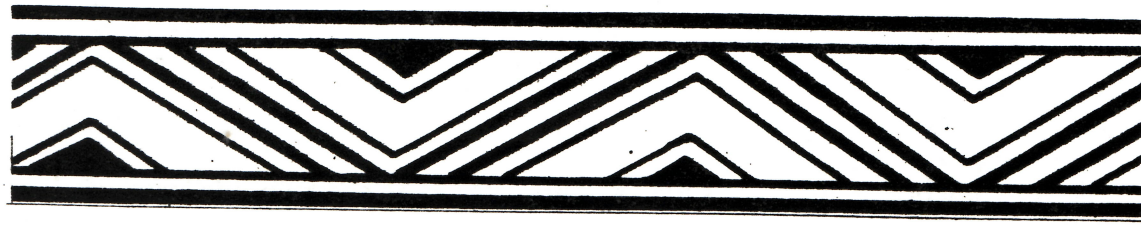
We are not individuals, we will not let the enemy divide us. This is why my sister and comrade, Marilyn Buck and I demand to be tried together for what has been called by the enemy the Brink's case. We are proud of our solidarity with the struggle for Black liberation/New Afrikan independence. In fighting for political association, and in fighting to go to trial together, we build our unity as revolutionaries as the strongest answer to the US government's attack.

We have begun to learn the lessons fron the national liberation struggles, and from the revolutionary struggles, that we have more to win by fighting harder, by going all the way, than we have to lose.

Comrades, the sacrifice, the hardship, the losses, are worth it. We can embody our vision of socialist humanity.

There is nothing the US government can do to us, no setback, no attack that can take that from us if we don't let them. Ultimately, like in Vietnam, in El Salvador, in Palestine, in Azania, in Chile, in the Philippines, the enemy will be unable to stem the fury of the oppressed and halt the desire and need for peace, justice, freedom, human dignity. As revolutionaries, we live to bring about ends that signify the highest interests of humanity.

Gracias a la Vida!
Venceremos.



Tim Blunk

Good morning friends and comrades.

I would like to talk about revolutionary principles. I think this is the correct way for us to honor the lives of Ho Chi Minh and Malcolm X-El Hajj Malik Shabazz. Much of what we have to remember them by are their words and writings though each of them were first and foremost men of action. In fighting for revolutionary principles their lives came to embody the essence of the Vietnamese and New Afrikan/Black Nation's struggles for national liberation. Their lives were more than exemplary, their lives were a path for their peoples to follow towards victory.

The reason for us, Northamerican revolutionary anti-imperialists, to talk about revolutionary principles is because we as a movement have taken some important steps forward to building revolutionary resistance based upon a serious commitment to self-determination for the oppressed nations and national liberation. The Northamerican armed clandestine organizations signify this commitment in practice; their development constitutes a **qualitative advance.** In the wave of recent setbacks we must understand this.

The clandestine political/military struggle transforms the potential for advance on **every** front.

The armed clandestine movement initiated a decisive break with imperialism and white supremacy and has pushed forward both the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle within the US oppressor nation. We have moved to break with having been primarily a support movement for the national liberation movements in Vietnam and within these borders, to begin to fight as allies, as actual participants in revolutionary struggle. We have begun to demonstrate what it means to implement the Leninist principle that the fundamental task of revolutionaries of the imperialist oppressor nations is to fight for the liberation of the oppressed nations. The struggle to build clandestine political/military organization and opening up campaigns of armed propaganda against the US military, its war machine and profiteers, gives meaning to revolutionary resistance where ours becomes a struggle for power and not reform.

We should be clear: the qualitative nature of the guerrilla front is not reducible to the military work it carries out or the armed actions that are effected. The significance of the clandestine political/military struggle for the anti-imperialist movement as a whole is that it transforms the potential for the advance of **every** front. By their very nature, public, legal organizations are bound by their own specific conditions that impede the development of revolutionary ideology and produce cadre that are only prepared to operate on the terrain determined by imperialism and bourgeois legality. As that terrain narrows through imperialism's response to its economic and political crisis, the material pull towards opportunism, racism and capitulation grows. Your ideology is largely shaped by direct experience. This is why the armed clandestine movement has the ability to produce cadre capable of operating on any front, under any conditions with the ideology, science and discipline of a communist combatant. From mass work to military work this is what we will need to become if we are to succeed.

The very practice of living one's life 24 hours a day as an enemy of the state, with the

security of your comrades and work in your hands, demands a ruthless struggle against individualism, and subjectivity, for science, collectivity and self-reliance. My own experience with my comrades in clandestinity was that we learned and we succeeded in making some real steps forward beyond the people that we had been. We were seeing in ourselves the beginnings of communist combatants and guerrillas capable of seizing the initiative in dire situations. It was both the hardest thing I'd ever done but also the most rewarding because we were living out a small piece of a socialist future by fighting for it. The love and comradeship among us was based in trying to make each of us the best guerrillas we could be. And it meant constant, difficult struggle against white supremacy, male supremacy, and the real material impact of a petit bourgeois class background that only serves to anchor us to this diseased and terroristic system. We found we could function as equals by using each other's strengths to overcome our weaknesses—the whole in practice was and is stronger and wiser than the sum of its parts. This is how the building of the armed clandestine movement contributed to pushing forward our struggle for revolutionary ideology.

Unfortunately, I understand many of these things better now than before we were captured. We stand here today in this court, as captured combatants, because of the positive decisions we made to take up the most difficult level of struggle, because we have been part of the advances the armed clandestine movement has made and because our specific failure to have internalized fully the best of what we had been struggling for with our comrades. Our capture had far less to do with the overwhelming strength of the state than our own individual weaknesses and our failure to embrace revolutionary ideology. The use of a particular piece of ID that led the police to us was a violation of our procedures. It was based completely out of individualism and personal opportunism where laziness led to a substitution of individual judgement for the collective experience. It was totally avoidable. The second test came when the police arrived. We failed together to seize the initiative as guerrillas, as we'd been trained. We put our own safety above that of the security and continuity of the armed clandestine movement and stopped short of taking a number of steps that might have prevented one or both of us from being captured. In the specific situation, we failed a test of our will to win—something that has been exemplified by our comrades in arms from the national liberation struggles from the Vietnamese to the New Afrikan/Afro-American and Puerto Rican Independence movements here inside the US. On an individual level, this is precisely the kind of ideological vacillation that has historically tied Northamericans securely to the system and to racist and opportunist politics—it is a direct manifestation of white privilege accrued through the development of the US white oppressor nation. It is why we can claim no real revolutionary tradition of resistance among Northamericans worthy of the name. We were and are struggling to break with white and class privilege to build an armed clandestine movement.

We can never fear imperialism as much as we hate it

We regret that we failed to internalize these lessons sooner, when the conditions were far better. But we have struggled to learn them. Our lives as communist combatants did not end upon coming to jail. Our conclusions are not that we had been unprepared as cadre, nor that it is impossible to fight imperialism on this level. It is hard. It requires a deeper commitment to revolutionary ideology and struggle than either of us had achieved

at that moment. We can never fear imperialism as much as we hate it nor as much as we love the people. It is as Commandante Che Guevara described the qualities of a guerrilla—combining perfect love and perfect hatred. Love for people, hatred for the enemy that would destroy them. If anything we are clearer, stronger and more committed now than ever before to fighting for the growth of the armed clandestine movement. We go to the prisons committed to building the anti-imperialist front on the inside, to maintaining our total political identity and if this is what objective conditions demand, we **will** keep the flame of armed resistance alive.

In the face of setbacks, we cannot retreat leaving behind the lessons and experience that we have gained. Revolutionaries are never defeated by setbacks as long as we demonstrate the principle to learn from the setbacks and to be willing to make sacrifices and take steps in the future to fulfill our strategy. As we learn and analyze, as we rededicate ourselves and regroup, the next confrontation will take place at a higher level to be carried decisively in our favor. This is what it means to become steeled in the struggle. There is no other way to learn to fight imperialism except by fighting and we must also learn as so many revolutionary movements have learned, that there is no advance without sacrifice. There are no guarantees.

Self-determination for oppressed nations within US borders is the negation of US imperialism

In periods of intense repression, we are put to the test, where it becomes even more important to maintain our revolutionary principles. All too often in the history of the Northamerican left this had not been the case. We have therefore been condemned to make the same errors over and over again. All too often with the first wave of state attacks, with the inevitable lulls in the mass struggle, revolutionary principles become eroded either to maintain organization's legal status or in the name of "reaching the masses." The principle of upholding the right of oppressed nations to self-determination is the first to be abandoned for the shelter of white privilege. For within the US empire there is no way to struggle for national liberation outside of making a determined break with imperialism toward total revolution and fighting white supremacy. Self-determination for oppressed nations within US borders is the negation of US imperialism itself and it means nothing less than land and independence for the New Afrikan/Afro-American Nation, sovereignty for Native American nations, the independence of Puerto Rico, self-determination and control of land for the Mexicano/Chicano people. We struggle for this because it is our proletarian internationalist duty as oppressor nation communists and because it is our strategy for the achievement of socialism.

Our view must be protracted; we hold fast to revolutionary principles such that those who follow, who pick up our guns, will fight on surer footing, will have a strong foundation on which to build. The Puerto Rican Nationalist POWs, Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, Andres Figueroa Cordero, spent 25 years in US prisons upholding the tradition of retraimiento—refusing parole, refusing conditional pardons, refusing to bow their heads to the imperialists. They never relented or gave up hope though their Nationalist Party and the independence movement was decimated by US counterinsurgency in the late 50's and early 60's. But they kept the flame alive and as a result they became the guiding lights for a whole new generation of Puerto Rican revolutionaries who picked up their struggle that ultimately won their release. It carries

on in the FALN, the Voluntarios/OVRP, the FARP and the PRTP-Macheteros.

A more devastating loss to our movement than any of the captures of the recent period would be the loss of our revolutionary principles. Without these principles we have nothing. The lesson can never be that it was wrong to fight—but that we must transform ourselves to fight better with greater commitment and science.

For the liberation of the oppressed nations
Free all Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners
Build a revolutionary resistance movement
For the defeat of US imperialism

Long Live the Armed Struggle!

Statement to the Press

We are dedicated to the defeat of U.S. imperialism. We are anti-imperialist resistance fighters who struggle alongside the revolutionary peoples of the world. The struggle in Central America, in Azania/South Africa, in Lebanon and Palestine will be victorious in our lifetime.

There is no sentence that the U.S. government can place on us that will deter us from revolutionary resistance—that is a right and responsibility of all who oppose the crimes of colonialism, war and genocide.

We do not look to the "injustice system" or the courts for relief. They are a part of the very system that we and others combat with active resistance. We cannot and will not appeal to the state. Our determination and our faith lies with the oppressed and exploited in this country and around the world.

Fight u.s. imperialism!
Free all Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners!
Venceremos!

They are Resistance Fighters, Not Terrorists!

Judge Lacey would not allow Susan and Tim to put forward their defense to the jury. His job was to railroad them to a fast conviction, enforce a "non-political" trial and "criminalize" them in the eyes of the people. An enormous show of military security accompanied each court appearance in Newark: police with automatic rifles stood on rooftops surrounding the courthouse, while Susan and Tim were transported in a high speed armed caravan. Helicopters circled the area. Susan and Tim were shackled as they went through proceedings in a courtroom filled with law enforcement officers. Measures like this have accompanied every major political trial in the last several years. They are part of the anti-"terrorist" strategy developed by U.S. think tanks and international

conferences to criminalize and dehumanize revolutionaries. Repressive laws like the new No-Bail law, which allows the government to hold people like Susan and Tim in preventive detention as "dangers to the community," are part of this strategy which comes disguised as "anti-crime" legislation.

It is not surprising that Judge Lacey implemented this strategy. He is a highly experienced counterinsurgency expert and an enemy of human rights struggles. He was the lawyer for the Newark Police Department in the years surrounding the 1967 Newark rebellion, when the Black community was fighting against killer cops, for decent housing and a real voice in government—and when the police were responding with the murder of unprecedented numbers of Black people. Lacey is a member of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, a body which has, in secret, approved every wiretap request made by the government in "national security" cases.

Susan and Tim are not the only revolutionaries who face these tactics of criminalization. The New York 8+, Black revolutionaries who are charged with conspiring to liberate New Afrikan Prisoners of War Sekou Odinga and Kuwasi Balagoon from jail, are currently on trial in federal court in New York. They were targets of the new No-Bail law and won a victory when the judge was forced by pressure from the Black community to release them on bail. Seven North Americans, the Ohio 5+2, are facing conspiracy charges which the government alleges stem from the campaign of armed solidarity with Azania/South Africa and Central America carried out by the United Freedom Front. They have faced isolation and death threats. They have been attacked with stun guns in open court when they tried to state their position as anti-imperialist revolutionaries. The government is trying to break their will by holding Carol and Thomas Manning's three children incommunicado and interrogating them. Right now, Carol and Thomas Manning's three children are disappeared by the government and being interrogated by the FBI. Recently, two Puerto Rican POWs, Haydee Torres and Lucy Rodriguez, were held for months in sensory deprivation cells at Alderson prison until the combined resistance of the Puerto Rican people and the solidarity movement forced the U.S. government to transfer them. It is no accident that the U.S. government is heightening its anti-terrorist moves at a time when internal opposition to U.S. aggression is mounting.

The United States presently has nearly 100 revolutionaries politically interned in its prisons. They include New Afrikan/Black and Puerto Rican Prisoners of War; and political prisoners and grand jury resisters from the New Afrikan/Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican and Native American struggles. And they include North American anti-imperialists who have fought with arms in solidarity with the liberation movement, North American grand jury resisters, and political prisoners from militant anti-war actions and from the sanctuary movement. Federal grand juries are continuing to imprison people who refuse to collaborate with government investigations and repression against just movements.

Our resistance movement must build a commitment to all of these comrades, and a commitment to fight the government's strategy to criminalize them, wear down their resistance and crush their political identities. We can extend our solidarity through the prison walls.

Build a Revolutionary Resistance Movement!
Victory to all National Liberation Struggles!
Free All Political Prisoners and POWs!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism!

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